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LONDON FOR PFLAUMER
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E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/22/10
TAGS: [PGOV](#) [PREL](#) [PINR](#) [CG](#) [ZI](#)
SUBJECT: S/E WOLPE DISCUSSES DRC DISENGAGEMENT AND
DISARMAMENT WITH ZIMBABWEAN FOREIGN MINISTER

CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR TOM MCDONALD, REASONS 1.5
(B), (D)

REFS: A) HARARE 2198

[1](#). (C) SUMMARY: ACCORDING TO THE ZIMBABWEAN FOREIGN MINISTER, THE APRIL 21 VICTORIA FALLS MEETING WAS DESIGNED AS A SUMMIT OF THE HEADS OF STATE OF THE EXTERNAL STATE ACTORS TO DISCUSS WAYS OF EXTRICATING THEMSELVES FROM THE CONGO. THE CONGOLESE WERE NOT INVITED. AT THE LAST MOMENT, DOS SANTOS COULD NOT ATTEND. BECAUSE OF HIS PENDING INAUGURATION, KAGAME WAS ALSO ABSENT BUT HAD SENT BOTH HIS FOREIGN MINISTER AND EMMANUEL GASANA. THE ZIMBABWEAN FOREIGN MINISTER DESCRIBED THE MEETINGS AS REMARKABLY FRANK AND FRIENDLY. HE REPORTED THAT THE DISCUSSION CENTERED ON TWO ISSUES THAT WERE VIEWED AS CENTRAL TO A RESOLUTION OF THE DRC CONFLICT: THE DISARMAMENT OF
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THE EX-FAR/INTERHAMWE, AND THE MOUNTING OF THE SUCCESSFUL MASIRE-FACILITATED INTER-CONGOLESE DIALOGUE. THE VIC FALLS PARTICIPANTS ALSO DISCUSSED WAYS OF SELF-ENFORCING THE KAMPALA CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT PENDING SECOND PHASE MONUC DEPLOYMENT AND, IN PARTICULAR, OF INSURING THAT NEITHER STATE ARMIES NOR NON-SIGNATORY FORCES WOULD VIOLATE THE 30 KILOMETER DEMILITARIZED ZONE. END SUMMARY.

[2](#). (C) ON APRIL 22,2000, S/E WOLPE, ACCOMPANIED BY LT. COL. GADDIS, SPECIAL ADVISOR PRENDERGAST, THE AMBASSADOR AND ECONOFF (NOTETAKER), MET FOR TWO HOURS WITH ZIMBABWEAN FOREIGN MINISTER STAN MUDENGE TO REVIEW RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE LUSAKA PEACE PROCESS AND THE RECENT POLITICAL DETERIORATION IN ZIMBABWE. THE EXTENDED AND AT TIMES EMOTIONAL EXCHANGE ON ZIMBABWE'S DOMESTIC SITUATION IS REPORTED SEPTEL.

WOLPE: LOCKING IN THE KAMPALA AGREEMENT

13. (C) WOLPE OPENED WITH A BRIEF DISCUSSION OF THE PURPOSE OF HIS CURRENT MISSION, MAKING THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

-- ZIMBABWE WAS TO BE CONGRATULATED ON ITS ROLE IN BRINGING ABOUT THE RECENT KAMPALA CEASE-FIRE/DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT.

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-- THE USG RECOGNIZED THAT A SUSTAINABLE AGREEMENT REQUIRED GOOD FAITH EFFORTS ON ALL SIDES, AND THE CONTINUED ENCOURAGEMENT AND COMMITMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

-- THE USG WANTED TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO INSURE THAT THE MOMENTUM GENERATED BY THE KAMPALA AGREEMENTS WAS SUSTAINED. IN HIS REGIONAL VISITS WOLPE WOULD BE STRESSING TO ALL PARTIES THE IMPORTANCE OF FULL COMPLIANCE WITH THESE AGREEMENTS. HE ALSO WANTED TO EXPLORE POSSIBLE WAYS OF ACCELERATING FULL LUSAKA IMPLEMENTATION.

--THE UPCOMING UNSC MISSION LED BY AMBASSADOR HOLBROOKE TO KINSHASA AND LUSAKA WAS SIMILARLY DESIGNED TO SUSTAIN THE NEW MOMENTUM. THIS WAS A CRITICAL MISSION WHICH, IF IT COULD REPORT SUBSTANTIVE PROGRESS ON THE GROUND, WOULD SET THE STAGE FOR SECOND PHASE MONUC DEPLOYMENT.

--THE USG WAS SEEKING NOT ONLY SHORT-TERM DISENGAGEMENT ON THE GROUND, BUT THE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LUSAKA AGREEMENT. NOTHING LESS THAN THE FULL RESTORATION OF CONGOLESE SOVEREIGNTY

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AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE.

THE TRUE STORY OF VICTORIA FALLS

13. (C) FOLLOWING S/E WOLPE'S EXPLANATION OF THE PURPOSE OF HIS CURRENT MISSION TO REGIONAL CAPITALS -- TO STRESS THE IMPORTANCE OF FULL COMPLIANCE WITH THE RECENT CEASE-FIRE/DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENTS REACHED AT KAMPALA, AND TO EXPLORE WITH REGIONAL LEADERS WAYS OF ACCELERATING THE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LUSAKA ACCORD -- MUDENGE GAVE A READ-OUT OF THE PREVIOUS DAY'S VICTORIA FALLS MEETING. MUDENGE SAID THAT THE VIC FALLS GATHERING WAS THE OUTGROWTH OF CONVERSATIONS THAT HAD OCCURRED ON THE MARGINS OF THE CAIRO MEETING BETWEEN CHISSANO, DOS SANTOS, MUSEVENI, AND MUGABE. ALL AGREED IT WAS TIME FOR THE
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EXTERNAL PARTIES TO SIT DOWN AND DISCUSS WAYS OF ENDING THE WAR AND GETTING OUT OF THE DRC. ALL OF THE EXTERNAL LUSAKA SIGNATORIES -- BUT NO CONGOLESE -- WERE INVITED TO VICTORIA FALLS. UNFORTUNATELY, AT THE LAST MINUTE DOS SANTOS COULD NOT COME. KAGAME, WHO WAS DEALING WITH HIS INAUGURAL PREPARATIONS, APOLOGIZED FOR HIS ABSENCE, AND HAD SENT BOTH HIS FOREIGN MINISTER AND EMMANUEL GASANA. KAGAME HAD IN FACT INDICATED HIS AVAILABILITY FOR AN EXTERNAL HEADS OF STATE MEETING IF IT WERE HELD ON A DIFFERENT DAY, BUT IT WAS DECIDED TO GO AHEAD AS SCHEDULED. IT WAS MOZAMBIKAN PRESIDENT CHISSANO (CURRENTLY THE HEAD OF SADC) WHO FACILITATED THE VIC FALLS DISCUSSION.

14. (C) MUDENGE SAID THE MEETING HAD NO AGENDA OTHER THAN A DISCUSSION OF WHAT WAS REQUIRED FOR ALL OF THE EXTERNAL PARTIES TO GET OUT OF THE CONGO. HE DESCRIBED THE MEETING AS EXCEPTIONALLY FRANK AND FRIENDLY -- THE FRIENDLIEST SUCH GATHERING HE HAD EVER OBSERVED. HE REGRETTED KAGAME'S ABSENCE -- WHICH HE EMPHASIZED WAS FOR "VERY UNDERSTANDABLE REASONS" -- BECAUSE HE WOULD HAVE LIKED THE RWANDAN PRESIDENT TO PERSONALLY EXPERIENCE THE REMARKABLE CANDOR AND POSITIVE ATMOSPHERICS OF THE SESSION. ACCORDING TO MUDENGE, ALL APPEARED INTENT ON BEING AS HONEST AS POSSIBLE, ON LAYING OUT THEIR BOTTOM LINES, ON FINDING A WAY OUT OF THE CONGO.

THE FIRST BOTTOM LINE: THE DISARMAMENT OF THE EX-FAR/INTERHAMWE

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15. (C) MUDENGE SAID THAT THE DISCUSSION AMONG THE VIC FALLS PARTICIPANTS QUICKLY ZEROED IN ON WHAT WERE UNDERSTOOD TO BE THE TWO CENTRAL CONCERNS REQUIRING RESOLUTION: THE DISARMAMENT OF THE EX-FAR/INTERHAMWE, AND THE INTER-CONGOLESE DIALOGUE. VARIOUS IDEAS WERE PUT ON THE TABLE, AND THE CONVERSATION GRADUALLY MOVED FROM A DISCUSSION OF MAXIMAL OBJECTIVES TO WHAT WAS IN FACT ACHIEVABLE. MUSEVENI AND THE RWANDANS, FOR EXAMPLE, INITIALLY FOCUSED ON THE NEED TO TRACK DOWN ALL EX-FAR/INTERHAMWE FIGHTERS. OTHERS, HOWEVER, ARGUED THIS WAS UNREALISTIC. "NO ONE HAS THE CAPACITY TO HUNT DOWN THESE PEOPLE," MUDENGE ASSERTED. HOWEVER, THREE OTHER PROPOSITIONS WERE DISCUSSED:

-- THE NEED TO INDIVIDUALIZE THE CULPABILITY OF GENOCIDAIRES, AND TO END THE BLANKET LABELLING OF THE ENTIRE GROUP OF EX-FAR/INTERHAMWE STILL IN THE DRC AS GENOCIDAIRES. AS MUDENGE PUT IT, "IF WE KNOW THAT A SPECIFIC INDIVIDUAL STANDS ACCUSED OF GENOCIDE, THEN WE CAN COOPERATE TO INSURE THAT HE IS BROUGHT TO JUSTICE." MUDENGE SAID THERE WAS NO ACTUAL

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DISARMAMENT WITH ZIMBABWEAN FOREIGN MINISTER

DISCUSSION OF THE CONCRETE MEANS OF SUCH COOPERATION.
NOR WAS THERE ANY DISCUSSION OF THE KIVUS
SPECIFICALLY OR OF SUCH NEAR-TERM ISSUES AS THE NEED
TO END THE TRAINING AND SUPPLY OF NON-SIGNATORY
FORCES. THESE SPECIFIC ISSUES WOULD HAVE TO BE
DISCUSSED WITH KAGAME PRESENT.

-- THE NEED FOR CONDITIONS TO BE CREATED INSIDE
UGANDA, RWANDA AND BURUNDI THAT WOULD ALLOW THE
LARGEST NUMBER OF THESE HUTU FIGHTERS TO RETURN HOME
SAFELY.

-- THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A BROADER CLIMATE OF PEACE
AND CONFIDENCE IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION WOULD
ULTIMATELY MAKE IT EASIER TO DEAL WITH THE EX-
FAR/INTERAHAMWE PROBLEM.

16. (C) ASKED HOW THE RWANDANS HAD RESPONDED TO THESE
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POINTS, MUDENGE SAID THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER TOOK
CAREFUL NOTES BUT DID NOT COMMENT DIRECTLY. MUDENGE
AGAIN EXPRESSED HIS REGRET AT KAGAME'S ABSENCE,
NOTING THAT IT WOULD HAVE BEEN HELPFUL TO HAVE THE
RWANDAN PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL REACTION. (MUDENGE ALSO
EXPRESSED UNCERTAINTY AS TO WHO HIS PRIMARY RWANDAN
INTERLOCUTOR WOULD BE IN THE AFTERMATH OF PATRICK
MAZIMHAKA'S DEPARTURE FROM THE CABINET. THE GOR MUST
GROW ON ITS OWN, ACCORDING TO MUDENGE, AND INTERACT
WITH OTHER COUNTRIES IN ITS OWN WAY; THIS CAN BE
FRUSTRATING TO OTHERS, INCLUDING THE UGANDANS.)

17. (C) AT ONE POINT, MUDENGE SAID, NAMIBIAN
PRESIDENT NUJOMA HALF JOKINGLY ("BUT ALSO HALF
SERIOUSLY") PROPOSED THAT EX-FAR/INTERHAMWE COULD BE
RESETTLED IN LAND-ABUNDANT NAMIBIA. MUDENGE SAID
THAT IN HIS VIEW THE RESETTLEMENT OF THESE ELEMENTS
INSIDE THE DRC ITSELF WAS A NON-STARTER BECAUSE OF
THE NEED TO DENY THE EX-FAR/INTERAHAMWE ACCESS TO THE
RWANDAN BORDER; HOWEVER, LOCATIONS MORE DISTANT FROM
RWANDA SHOULD BE CONSIDERED. THE KEY, HE SAID, WAS
THE NEED TO "SMASH THE SUPPORTIVE STRUCTURES" OF THE
EX-FAR/INTERAHAMWE, SOMETHING WITH WHICH HE AND
PATRICK MAZIMHAKA HAD AGREED AT THE TIME OF THE
SIGNING OF THE LUSAKA AGREEMENT.

THE SECOND BOTTOM LINE: THE INTER-CONGOLESE DIALOGUE

18. (C) THE SECOND CENTRAL ISSUE UPON WHICH THE VIC
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FALLS PARTICIPANTS FOCUSSED WAS THE NEED TO HAVE A
SUCCESSFUL NATIONAL DIALOGUE THAT WOULD NOT BE
OBSTRUCTED BY KABILA. MUDENGE SAID THAT EVERYONE
WOULD HAVE TO ACCEPT THE FACT THAT A DEEPLY
SUSPICIOUS AND MISTRUSTFUL KABILA WOULD CONTINUE TO
TRY TO DO HIS THING. KABILA WAS ONE WHO INSISTED ON
"TRUST AND VERIFY" AS HIS MODUS OPERANDI. MUDENGE
SAID IT WAS CASTRO THAT HAD ONCE OBSERVED THAT KABILA
MAY NOT TRUST ANYONE, BUT THAT WAS VERY LIKELY WHY HE
HAD SURVIVED ALL OF THOSE YEARS IN THE BUSH. IN

RESPONSE TO WOLPE'S QUERY AS TO HOW THE ALLIES WOULD DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS OF NON-COMPLIANCE PRESENTED BY KABILA, MUDENGE INSISTED THAT THIS WOULD NOT BE A BIG PROBLEM.

19. (C) IT WAS ALSO AGREED BY THE VIC FALLS PARTICIPANTS THAT NATIONAL DIALOGUE FACILITATOR MASIRE HAD BEEN SENT INTO THE DRC "UNARMED" WITH REGARD TO DEALING WITH KABILA. THE REGIONAL LEADERS RECOGNIZED THAT HAD NOT DONE ANYTHING TO HELP PREPARE FORMER BOTSWANA PRESIDENT MASIRE FOR HIS TASK, AND THEY INTENDED TO CORRECT THAT OVERSIGHT.

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MANAGING THE CEASE-FIRE WITHOUT MONUC

110. (C) THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID THAT MUCH CONVERSATION CENTERED ON HOW TO IMPLEMENT THE KAMPALA DECISION THAT THE COMBATANTS WOULD PULL BACK FIFTEEN KILOMETERS ON EITHER SIDE, SO AS TO ESTABLISH A THIRTY KILOMETER DEMILITARIZED ZONE. IT WAS AGREED THAT THIS ZONE HAD TO BE TOTALLY FREE NOT ONLY OF STATE MILITARY FORCES BUT ALSO OF THE EX-FAR/INTERAHAMWE AND OTHER SUCH ELEMENTS.. EVERY PARTY HAD TO ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY THROUGH MECHANISMS SUCH AS THE RJMC'S OR JOINT PATROLS, FOR WHICH RESOURCES ARE NEEDED -- PARTICULARLY IF MONUC PHASE TWO DEPLOYMENT SHOULD BE FURTHER DELAYED. MUDENGE NOTED THAT IT WAS STILL NECESSARY TO SECURE KABILA'S COOPERATION WITH THIS SELF-POLICING EFFORT.

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111. (C) MUDENGE OBSERVED THAT THIS TASK OF SELF-POLICING WAS MADE MORE DIFFICULT BY THE CONTINUING REFUSAL OF RWANDA AND RCD-GOMA TO PARTICIPATE IN THE REGIONAL JMC'S. ACCORDING TO MUDENGE, RWANDA AND THE RCD-GOMA HAVE BLAMED A LACK OF RESOURCES FOR THEIR NON-PARTICIPATION, AS WELL AS THEIR LACK OF FAITH IN SELF-MONITORING MECHANISMS. BUT, WHATEVER THE REASON, IT WAS CAUSING DIFFICULTIES ON THE GROUND.

PRENDERGAST AND WOLPE UNDERTOOK TO DISCUSS THIS
SUBJECT IN KIGALI.

12. (C) MUDENGE SAID THAT ALL OF THE LEADERS AT
VICTORIA FALLS PROFESSED CURRENT SATISFACTION WITH
THE CEASE-FIRE OBSERVANCE. ACCORDING TO MUDENGE, THE
ONLY NEGATIVE NOTE WAS SOUNDED BY ZIMBABWEAN DEFENSE
MINISTER MAHACHI WHO CLAIMED THAT THERE HAD BEEN AN
ATTACK ON IKELA AFTER THE APRIL 14 CEASE-FIRE
IMPLEMENTATION DATE. MUSEVENI SAID HE THOUGHT
MAHACHI MAY HAVE BEEN REFERRING TO AN ATTACK THAT HAD
OCCURRED PRIOR TO THE CEASE-FIRE DEADLINE. MAHACHI,
HOWEVER, INSISTED THAT THERE WAS A LATER ATTACK THAT
WAS A VIOLATION OF THE CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT.

IT'S THE ATMOSPHERICS, STUPID

13. (C) THE VICTORIA FALLS PARTICIPANTS DID NOT
REACH ANY FORMAL DECISIONS, THE FOREIGN MINISTER
SAID. BUT THAT WAS NOT THE PURPOSE OF THE GATHERING.
RATHER, IT WAS DESIGNED TO BUILD THE CONFIDENCE
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NECESSARY AMONG THE EXTERNAL PARTIES TO MOVE FORWARD
ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LUSAKA AGREEMENT. IF
THERE IS RAPPORT AMONG THE EXTERNAL PARTIES, MUDENGE
SAID, KABILA WILL HAVE TO GO ALONG. "I BELIEVE WE
(THE EXTERNAL PARTIES) CAN BE CONSTRUCTIVE FOR THE
DRC." STRESSING THE EXCELLENT ATMOSPHERICS OF THE
VIC FALLS MEETING, MUDENGE ADDED THAT THOSE WHO HAD
TURNED UP HAPPENED TO BE PARTICULARLY COMFORTABLE
WITH ONE ANOTHER. THE VICTORIA FALLS PARTICIPANTS
AGREED THAT CHISSANO WOULD REPORT ON THEIR MEETING TO
ZAMBIAN PRESIDENT CHILUBA WHO WILL THEN BE ASKED TO
CONVENE A LARGER MEETING OF ALL OF THE LUSAKA
PARTIES.

COMMENT

14. (C) FROM MUDENGE'S READ-OUT, IT WOULD APPEAR
THAT THE EXTERNAL STATE ACTORS IN THE DRC CONFLICT
ARE, AT LAST, BEGINNING TO TAKE COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP
FOR ADDRESSING THE TWO CORE ISSUES UNDERLYING THE
GREAT LAKES CRISIS: THE SECURITY THREAT POSED TO
RWANDA AND UGANDA BY CONGOLESE-BASED EX-

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DISARMAMENT WITH ZIMBABWEAN FOREIGN MINISTER

FAR/INTERAHAMWE INSURGENTS AND OTHER ARMED GROUPS,
AND THE ABSENCE OF A FUNCTIONING CONGOLESE STATE. IT
IS ENCOURAGING THAT THE ISSUES OF DISARMAMENT OF THE
NON-SIGNATORY ARMED GROUPS AND THE MASIRE-FACILITATED
INTER-CONGOLESE DIALOGUE WERE AT THE CENTER OF THE
VICTORIA FALLS DISCUSSION. EVERY EFFORT SHOULD NOW
BE MADE TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS EMERGENT CONSENSUS
BY ASSISTING THE PARTIES IN IDENTIFYING AND GAINING
AGREEMENT AROUND CONCRETE MEASURES THAT WOULD
ACCELERATE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LUSAKA
AGREEMENT. END COMMENT.

MCDONALD

CONFIDENTIAL

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